1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

142
291
302
342
482
415
351

FRONTISPIECE :

Phaggu and Family.

[Facing Title Page]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

PLATE XV.

142
291
516

Kol Women and Children in Barela.

Another group in Panagar.

291
415
482

A Kol Widow. The metal Bangles are retained.

[facing p.66]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584 796 354 been plastered and marked somewhat according to the accompanying diagram. About eight o'clock in the evening, as we waited nearby with a group of men, the beat of the drum was heard and we went up to the thornfenced enclosure. Only women were allowed within the

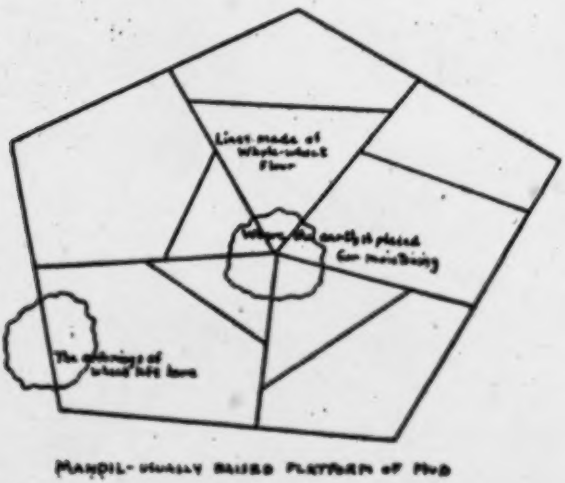
MAGARMĀTĪ - GATHERING EARTH FOR CHILDREN TO PREPARE LĀWĀ.
Lines made of White-wheat flour
MANDIL - USUALLY RAISED PLATFORM OF MUD

Fig. 19

courtyard, and the men had to remain outside, but a good view was had of the proceedings. The drum was played by a Chamar male, hired for this occasion, who was the only man taking any part in the ceremony. The women and children formed a procession within the [482] courtyard. There were a number of baskets (there should be seven) carried on the heads of unmarried girls, while others carried a pick (*gainti*) and a mattock (*kodali*). The leader and the first in line of the procession should either be the sister of the bride or her *phuphi*, her father's sister. On her head was an earthen jar like a brass *lota* (some- [482] times the latter may be used) which was filled with water and into which were inserted mango twigs with the leaves attached. On the top of this rested an earthen lamp, *dip*. Figure 20 shows how this was carried. With this light on her head she led the way to the place [523 539] where the earth was dug up and they sang as they proceeded. Some of the songs which were sung at Deosori in the Kaimurs are as follows:

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

584
796
354
533
539
[482]

THE LEADER OF THE MAṆGARMĀṬĪ PROCESSION

Fig. 20

1. *Lanka gaye Hanuman,*
Rama Lakshman ghar aye.
To Lanka far went Hanuman,
Then Ram and Lakshman came home.

2. *Mati khodain gai,*
Bichhi mariss kaya daiya kaya ;
Mati khodain gai, biss le bahu.
Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho, Ho daiya ho.

The clay was dug,
I was bitten by a scorpion—
Alas, Alas !

hGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

(3) *The Wedding Ceremony. The Sadi.* The actual wedding is divided into three parts, each occurring on a different day and the whole lasting three days. There is first the arrival of the *barat*—the party which brings the bridegroom and which reaches the girl's village on the evening of the first day. The next part occurs on the following night and is the wedding proper, the *sadi*; and finally the bridegroom departs for his own home on the third day and this is called the *bida* or farewell. 585

(a) *Barat.* A day or two after the parching of the *lawa* there are preparations at the bridegroom's house for the departure from thence for the house of the bride. The *barat* is usually so planned that it arrives at the girl's village just after dusk. The *barat* is made up entirely of men, and women are not permitted to accompany the procession. Before the *barat* can leave there is a feast given to its members by the women of the family. Following this the bridegroom is put into a *palki* or litter. The party also takes with it various things needed for the *sadi* including the *lawa*, a *barain* (small whitish-coloured earthenware pot decorated with yellow figures and in which are carried a *seer* of rice and, if in season, two mangoes), seven *dips* (earthenware lamps), and a *dahingar* (a decorated earthen pot like the *barain* in which *dahi*—curds—are kept). These things are carried by the party in baskets on their heads, but in the *palki* will be put the *sendur*, *kauhan* (black and red beads strung on a thin iron wire), some toys and *gobar* (cowdung). Some one to beat the drum should accompany the party which leaves the boy's village amid music and singing. The women who remain behind are busy preparing for the return of the bridegroom and his party three days later. [562] [574] [493] [482] 585 574

The procession should not arrive in the village until night has fallen. Upon its arrival it does not at once enter the village, but stops some distance away and with drums and singing announces its presence. The girl's party which has been waiting the arrival of the *barat* is now summoned by her father. The women of the bride's party accompany the men in greeting the *barat* and the group proceeds to the edge of the village with lights, the person carrying the leading light being either the girl's sister or a female cousin. This light is carried on top of an earthen jar resting on the head in a manner similar to the way the light is carried at the *mangarmati* time. The men of the party bring a *chhattari*, or an umbrella made of bamboo branches and leaves from the *palasa* tree. Like the crown in Europe, the umbrella in village India is essentially a symbol of sovereignty. A *mashal*, or torch on the end of a pole is also brought and waved about in imitation of a battle. The men of the two parties now meet and greet one [354] [482] [293] [354]

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

796 787 The ninth day is the final day of the *Jawara* festival. The greenish-yellowish wheat can now be brought out and something foretold, in the case of the Fall festival, about the coming crop. If the wheat has grown nicely, in spite of the fact that it has been kept indoors, and in addition frequently covered by a basket, it is a sign that there will be a good crop of wheat. If the growth of the *jawara* is poor, the crop will likely be a poor one. The process appears to [789] have an element of magic in it and is used as a method to secure good crops; for the earth is first well manured and then well cared for and watered. Frazer in his series, "The Golden Bough", has found a similar ritual elsewhere which he calls "The Garden of Adonis."[1]

The growing wheat cannot be taken out before the late afternoon. When the time comes to take it out, some animals are sacrificed at the village shrine, there is singing and dancing and probably there will be a *bawa* with Shardamai as the deity possessing the devotee. The [482] procession is formed at the shrine, and the women carry the plants on their heads to the river or tank where the stalks are immersed. [789] The men folk follow a short distance behind and loudly beat their drums to frighten away any evil influences. The women sing songs [533] of the *bhagat* type and there may be some *bawas* as well, and the de- [785] votee has a trident stuck into his tongue or cheek. Upon reaching the place where the wheat will be "cooled", the women enter the water, and wash away the earth from the roots of the plants. The earthenware vessels are thrown away, and the stalks are retained. Most of [431] them, though not all, are brought back and distributed to friends as [627] a mark of goodwill. They receive from others as well as give. All enmities should be healed.

796 574 That evening there is a feast at the village shrine. The Kols gather by *kurhis* and the animals sacrificed are eaten along with other foods; there is more music and songs and perhaps some more *bawas*. Sometimes the animals are not sacrificed until the procession bringing the stalks of wheat, returns from the tank.

796 *Khajleniya*. This is another term for the Jawara festival and refers especially to the activities of the ninth day, and the part the women play in carrying the wheat stalks. It is therefore spoken of [857] by some Kols as a woman's festival. Along with it there are certain [533] activities for the children. Two sticks are set up to represent a man [535] and a woman, and they dance about the sticks and sing some marriage songs. There is also a test of balance, and a long bamboo pole is [526] placed on the ground, and the boys and girls try to see if they can

1. Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough*, Vol. I., p. 236 ff.

liGriffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

539 773 THE ORIGIN OF KOLS. There are several stories recorded elsewhere[1] concerning the origin of the Kols. This story may supplement them. While Rama was in exile in the forest, many of the gods took compassion on him and descended to the earth in human form in order to assist him. These gods called themselves Kolas. After the fourteen-year period of exile was over, Rama returned to his Kingdom and became King of Ayodhya. The Kolas went back to heaven—Indrapuri. The Kols of today are the descendants of the gods who were in the forest along with Rama. This proves the divine origin and nature of the Kols.

HOW THE KOLS LOST THEIR RIGHTS. From the beginning, the Kols enjoyed many rights, and in their prestige were second to none. Once Shivari was going on a journey. A man was hired to carry her [462] luggage in a *kanwar*—two baskets attached to the ends of a bamboo pole slung over the shoulder. Thus they started off. After they had gone some distance, the man said to Shivari: "Why do you walk, when there in the field is a horse for you to ride upon?" This gave Shivari an idea. The horse was brought, but she could not get on it, and so she took an axe and began to chop at the horse's legs to shorten them. The man shouted: "What are you doing?" She replied: "I wish to prepare two pegs out of the horse's legs so that I may use them to mount the horse as he is too high for me." The man said: "Fool, you know nothing; you are spoiling the horse. Take this *kanwar* and I will show you how to ride a horse." So he gave to her the *kanwar* with her luggage within the baskets and jumping on the horse, he rode away. From that day on Shivari had to carry her own luggage everywhere, and her descendants became coolies. The man was really Bhagawan in the form of Ramachandraji, and took away from her the high privileges which were really hers, because she was so stupid. Thus Bhagawan deceived the Kols and cheated them of their rights, and ever since that time they have been burden bearers and coolies.

492 539 773 There are various stories about the horse and the dispossession of the Kols by others. A Brahmin was once ploughing a field, and a Kol happened to pass that way on horseback. The Kol was much interested as he had never witnessed ploughing before. He descended from his horse and after watching the process a while, wondered if he could also do it. To test himself he caught hold of the plough and attempted to use it. The Brahmin then jumped on the horse and rode away and was never seen again. So the Kol had to continue to plough the field and

1 See pages 4-10, 26, 27, 28, 39-40, 41-42.

li Griffiths M-3 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

[P 247]

Chapter XII

LIFE STORIES OF LIVING KOLS

Sunnulal: A Kol who Stayed in his Village

I was born in the village of Kharara Ghat and was the youngest of five brothers. There were also three sisters in my family, which was a large one, as there are about fifty living relatives on my father's side alone. When I was about sixteen years of age my parents decided that I should be married and they found a girl for me in the village of Barela. My wife and I have lived happily together, and we have had two sons. My father died two years ago (in 1935). I have never had to leave Kharara Ghat in order to earn money. I have always seemed to be able to find things to do about the village and have earned enough to be well supplied with the things I need. One thing I do is to go into the forest and cut wood which I carry on my head to Jubbulpore. It is hard work, but it has to be done. My wife and sons also help out by gathering *tendu* leaves for the *biri* manufacturers. All of my five brothers live here in Barela. Together we control about fifteen acres of land which is rented from a *malguzar*. It is not all in one place, but in three or four places. We all do our share of work on this, and the income from the wheat and pulse is shared evenly by us. But all the money I make from selling wood, or grass, or *tendu* leaves I keep myself and we do not share it.

I have become one of the *panchayat* of this village and take a keen interest in the welfare of this village and our community. I would like you to put a school in our village. The nearest school is four miles away—too far for our small children to go even if we were sure they would be treated right if they were admitted. I can read a little and sign my name. I never went to school, but learned this from a man in Jubbulpore, who used to teach me after I had sold my wood. I even have bought some books.

I have no debts and do not drink any strong liquors. I have never been seriously ill, nor had any serious trouble in the family, nor have we suffered from the want of food and clothing. I have never had an accident either even though I have gone on hunting expeditions in charge of beaters. Very often some Europeans from Jubbulpore come out to our village which is close to good hunting places and I go with them and show them where they may find game.

1:Griffiths M-5 (ca. 1940) 1946 AW37 Kol AW37

137
221
291
415
●482
491

PLATE XXIX

Kols migrating North following the Wheat Harvest.

[facing p. 271]